

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 060953Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1090

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 0634

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN

IO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS

DEPARTMENT PASS LABOR FOR SECRETARY USERY AND COMMERCE

FOR UNDER SECRETARY BAKER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO, AORG

SUBJ: PARIS MEETINGS ON ILO FEBRUARY 5

SUMMARY: IN PARIS MEETINGS FOREIGN MINISTER UNSYMPATHETIC  
TO AMERICAN POSITION ON STRUCTURE AS "DEFENSE OF PRIVILAGES".

HE WAS UNINFORMED ON ELECTION MATTERS. SUCH INFORMATION

AS HE HAD CAME FROM PARODI. VENTEJOL ANDMINISTER OF

LABOR MUCH MORE SYMPATHETIC. THE LATTER EXPRESSED

SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN POSITION ON STRUCTURE AND EX-

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PRESSED GRATITUDE FOR AMERICAN LETTER FOR FORCING

EUROPEANS TO FACE UP TO CRUCIAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

1. SAUVAGNARGUES THOROUGHLY AGREED WITH PARODI VIEW  
MAJOR TASK OF ILO ACCOMMODATION WITH THIRD WORLD;  
HOWEVER, HAD NOT DISCUSSED QUESTION WITH VENTEJOL OR LABOR  
MINISTER AND ADMITTED WAS NOT FULLY INFORMED ON SPECIFIC  
ISSUES. AT CLOSE OF MEETING INDICATED WOULD BE NECESSARY  
FOR HIM TO BECOME BETTER INFORMED ON QUESTION SO AS TO  
CONSIDER AMERICAN POSITION MORE CAREFULLY. SAUVAGNARGUES EXPRESSED  
CONCERN THAT AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO STRUCTURAL CHANGES WAS IN  
FACT DEFENSE OF PRIVILEGE. HE REJECTED ANALOGY TO SECURITY  
COUNCIL AND MENTIONED HIS VIEW THAT TEN NATIONS OF  
CHIEF INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE OUTMODED CONCEPT FOR ILO.  
I RESPONDED THAT HE, SAUVAGNARGUES, MISUNDERSTOOD REASONS  
FOR OUR POSITION OPPOSING STRUCTURAL CHANGES. IT IS NOT,  
AS HE ASSUMED, OPPOSITION TO NEWLY EMERGING INDUSTRIAL  
POWER SUCH AS BRAZIL (WHICH HE MENTIONED) BUT BECAUSE ALL  
SUGGESTIONS FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGE CARRIED GEOGRAPHIC  
CONCEPT DESIGNED TO INSURE IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION.  
UPON HEARING THIS REASON, SAUVAGNARGUES CONCEDED THAT  
HE WAS NOT THOROUGHLY INFORMED AND INDICATED HE WOULD  
HAVE TO GET DEEPER INTO THE MATTER.

2. SAUVAGNARGUES POINTEDLY ASKED WHETHER I WAS IN FACT  
REPRESENTING THE POSITION OF THEMOST SENIOR OFFICIALS  
IN THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO WHICH, OF COURSE, I RESPONDED  
IN THE AFFIRMATIVE, AGAIN EMPHASIZING, AS I HAVE ELSEWHERE,  
THE UNIFIED NATURE OF THE AMERICAN POSITION AND ITS DUR-  
ABILITY.

3. SAUVAGNARGUES STATED THAT AFTER READING THE US LETTER  
OF INTENT HE THOUGHT THE US WOULD STAY IN ILO BUT NOW  
CONCLUDED UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THE US PREFERRED TO  
BE OUT.

4. HE INDICATED THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT ACCEPT THE US  
POSITION THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN EROSION OF TRIPARTITISM  
IN THE ILO. HE ADDED HIS BELIEF THAT US ANALYSIS WAS  
INSUFFICIENT AND THAT THEREFORE THERE WAS NOT "A GHOST  
OF A CHANCE" THAT WE WILL GET WHAT WE WANT AND THAT WE  
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WOULD LEAVE THE ILO IN TWO YEARS. HE BELIEVED THAT THERE  
WAS CHANCE TO REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF POLITIZATION OF THE  
ILO BUT IT WAS DIFFICULT. HOWEVER, THE GENERAL US  
POSITION SEEMED TO HIM TO BE "NOT FULLY THOUGHT OUT"  
AND LIMITED TO A POST-WAR CONTEXT NOT VALID FOR 1990.

5. SAUVAGNARGUES WENT ON TO REFLECT UPON THE  
CLEAR LINK BETWEEN THE ILO AND THE UN, INDICATING THAT WITH

RESPECT TO BOTH ORGANIZATIONS ALL MAJORITIES WERE "AUTOMATIC" AND THAT THE WORLD IS CHANGING AND WE MUST ADAPT TO THE WORLD AS IT IS AND NOT AS WE WOULD LIKE IT TO BE. HE CONCEDED THAT WE SHOULD OPPOSE DEMAGOGERY AND FIGHT FOR PRINCIPLES IN THE ILO BUT HE EXPRESSED THE PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE AMERICAN POSITION WOULD FORCE CONFRONTATION IN THE ILO AND MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING. HE SAID THAT OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO INTRODUCE IN THE ILO THE SAME SPIRIT BETWEEN THE LDC'S AND THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES THAT WE ACHIEVED IN THE PARIS ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

6. SAUVAGNARGUES ADMITTED THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION MIGHT NOT BE THE VIEW OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

7. BABRIEL VENTEJOL, PRESIDENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL AND FRENCH GOVERNMENT MEMBER ON THE ILO GOVERNING BODY, AFTER HEARING MY OUTLINE OF THE US POSITION FIRST COMMENTED THAT AS EX-TRADE UNION OFFICIAL HE PERSONALLY REGRETTED THAT THE AFL-CIO LEFT THE ICFTU BECAUSE IT HAD WEAKENED THAT ORGANIZATION. HE THEN ASKED WHETHER THE US WOULD REMAIN IN THE ILO IF IT WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE JUNE CONFERENCE, NOTING THAT THERE WAS ONLY FOUR MONTHS TO CHANGE AND ORGANIZATION WITH A LONG HISTORY. I RESPONDED THAT FOUR MONTHS WAS SUFFICIENT TIME FOR THE DEMOCRACIES TO MAKE A POLITICAL JUDGEMENT CONCERNING THE UNDERLYING ISSUES.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
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8. VENTEJOL INDICATED THAT HE SUPPORTED BOTH THE CONCEPT OF TRIPARTITISM AND UNIVERSALITY. I COUNTERED BY POINTING OUT THAT THE TWO PRINCIPLES WERE IN CONFLICT IN THE ILO AND THE CRUCIAL QUESTION FOR GOF WAS WHICH PRINCIPLES WAS PREDOMINANT. FOR OURSELVES, IT WAS CLEARLY TRIPARTITISM.

9. VENTEJOL WONDERES ALOUD WHETHER THE TENSION BETWEEN UNIVERSALITY AND REPARITISM HAD DESTROYED THE ILO'S USEFULNESS AND WHETHER WE SHOULD CREATE A NEW ORGANIZATION WITH THE MEMBERSHIP LIMITED TO DEMOCRATIC STATES. HE INDACATED HIS VIW THAT IF THE US LEFT OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD FOLLOW. HE EXPRESSED THE CHOICE AS BETWEEN EITHER LEAVING OR STAYING AND FIGHTING AND THEN REITERATED CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS QUESTION THAT IF GOOD RESULTS COULD NOT BE OBTAINED IN FOUR MONTHS, WOULD THE US FIGHT FOR THE BALANCE OF THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS. I RESPONDED THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN DECISIONS THAT WERE COMING UP IN JUNE THAT WERE MAKE OR BREAK ISSUES FOR THE US. AS FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED IT WOULD DO NO GOOD TO SIMPLY SEEK A WAY TO DELAY CONFRONTING THESE TOUGH ISSUES.

10. VENTEJOL INDICATED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC CONCERNING THESE QUESTIONS AND HE WOULD SPEAK BOTH TO THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC AGAIN. HE ASKED THAT I BE AVAILABLE TO COME BACK AND DISCUSS THE QUESTION WHICH I AGREED TO DO.

11. FRENCH MINISTER OF LABOR DURAFOUR GAVE ME THE MOST ENCOURAGING RESPONSE. HE SAID HE APPROVED THAT THE US INSISTES ON TRIPARTITISM AND FIGHTS USSR EFFORTS TO INTERFERE WITH THE AUTONOMY OF THE EMPLOYERS GROUP, FURTHER ADDING THA IT WAS GOOD THAT THE US WAS GATHERING ALLIES TO FIGHT FOR PRINCIPLES BECAUSE TH US SHOULD

REMAIN IN THE ILO. HE EVEN SAID THE US LETTER OF INTENT WAS WELCOME BECAUSE IT HAS FORCED "WE EUROPEANS TO RETHINK OUR APPROACH TO THE ILO. DURAFOUR CLAIMED HE SPOKE TO THE LABOR MINISTERS OF THE UK, FRG, AND ITALY AND THEY AGREED THAT THE REAL PROBLEM WAS TO BRING THE ILO BACK TO THE WORKERS' NEEDS AND THAT POLITICAL SUBJECTS SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF THE ILO AND OF OTHER UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. HE WENT ON TO SAY THA VENTEJOL HAS INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO UNDERCUT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ILO, TO OPPOSE THE IDEOLOGY OF COMMUNISM AND TO PRE-VENT THE ILO FROM BECOMING AN INSTRUMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES.

12. I DESCRIBED MY DISCUSSIONS WITH SAUVAGNARGUES AS REVEALING A DIFFERENT VIEW ANDPOINTED OUT THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TALKED TO PARODI. DURAFOUR INSISTED THAT PARODI WAS WITH US ON ULTIMATE GOALS BUT DISAGREED ON TACTICS AND I SAID THAT HIS VIEW OF TACTICS IN OUR MIND COMPROMISED PRINCIPLES.

13. DURAFOUR THEN SAID THA A DURABLE SOLUTION WOULD  
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BE ONE SATISFACTORY TO BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE DEMOCRACIES AND, THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM WAS HOW TO PREVENT THE USSR FROM CONTINUALLY SEEKING TO PREVERT ILO PRINCIPLES. I RESPONDED THAT I DID NOT BELIEVE THEY WOULD EVER GIVE UP THEIR IDEOLOGICAL WAR IN THE ILO OR ELSEWHERE AND, THEREFORE, WE HAD TO CONTINUALLY OPPOSE USSR EFFORTS TO MODIFY THE ILO AND DIVERT IT FROM THE BASIC PURPOSES AS WELL AS TO DISCOURAGE THE LDC'S FROM PERVERTING THE ILO TO DEMAGOGY. DURAFOUR EXPRESSED THE VIEW IT WAS A PROBLEM FOR DIPLOMATS AND I DISAGREED ARGUING IT WAS RATHER AN ISSUE FOR FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL DECISION BY SENIOR POLITICIANS.

14. COMMENT: THE FRENCH HAVE NOT YET MADE THE TOUGH DECISION; PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC SEEMS TO BE THE KEY. THE QUAY D'ORSAY VIEW IS DESIGNED TO POSTURE FRANCE CLOSER TO THE THIRD WORLD THAN THE US WITH ALL THE SHORT TERM ADVANTAGES THAT AFFORDS. VENTEJOL AND DURAFOUR ON THE OTHER HAND SEEM MORE SENSITIVE TO THE EAST/WEST IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND SURELY WANT THE US TO REMAIN IN ILO. DURAFOUR SEEMED TO AGREEABLE TO BE TOTALLY BELIEVABLE AND ALTHOUGH VENTEJOL DID NOT STRIKE ME AS A STRONG MAN, HE APPEARED TO APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULT CHOICE.

15. IT IS INTERESTING THAT THE LABOR MINISTERS GENERALLY SEEM BETTER DISPOSED TO US POSITION THAN FOREIGN MINISTERS--EITHER BECAUSE IT IS THEIR POND THAT MAY BE DRAINED OR BECAUSE THEY PERCEIVE THE ISSUES AS MORE

FUNDAMENTAL THAN THE PRAGMATIC DIPLOMATS.

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